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The Suffragist

OFFICIAL WEEKLY ORGAN OF
THE NATIONAL WOMAN'S PARTY

SATURDAY, AUGUST 25, 1917

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PERIODICAL DIVISION

y Boardman Robinson, courtesy New York Call

Making America Safe for Democracy

National Woman's Party

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OBJECT: TO SECURE AN AMENDMENT TO THE UNITED STATES CONSTITUTION ENFRANCHISING WOMEN

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Notes of the Week

The Voice of the Great Northwest

REPRESENTATIVE JOHN M. BAER, of North Dakota, has blown into the war Congress of 1917 like a gale from the great Northwest. Farmer first, newspaper cartoonist second, Baer is the authentic voice of the prairies that are to feed the world during the present war. There is nothing facile, pliant or timid about the farmer-cartoonist sent to Congress by the organized farmers of the Non-Partisan League. He sees the Congress of the United States with the eye of a humorist, a cartoonist. The youngest representative is the first to initiate a real fight for the passage of the federal suffrage amendment.

The first thing Representative Baer did was to introduce a resolution in the House protesting against the lawless attacks on the suffrage pickets and calling for a congressional investigation of the Capital police department that permitted these attacks.

Senator Myers, on the other hand, an Administration Democrat, has rushed to the defense of the President to defend him from the onslaught of silent women demanding justice with banners. He calls these women "outrageous," "infamous," "scandalous," "treasonable," "insulting," "disgusting," with many other red-blooded adjectives, not seeming to realize that the law he would pass to prohibit picketing would demonstrate that the suffragists now in prison have been sent there illegally by the Administration.

American Munition Girls Wanted

THE need for thousands of women munition makers in this country if the war is to continue is causing a government investigation of British munition factories. One of the chief objects is to determine whether "piece" workers or "time" workers produce the greater output. "Night work is considered undesirable," says a recent report, "as there is no significant difference between the rate of output of the night and day shifts."

The cold calculation of the government in conscripting women for industry and measuring their fitness as government machinery in advance, while it makes an active fight to deny them any voice in this government has at present no parallel in the civilized world. In no other country at war are women at present actively fighting against this indiginity.

The perils of shell-filling and picric acid poisoning are now to be faced by American women workers. The National American Woman Suffrage Association is one of the organizations at this crisis urging all war workers to demand men's pay for men's work. It would be well for women to remember that it is widely believed that it was the concerted demand of the striking munition girls which was responsible for the government reversal in favor of suffrage in Great Britain.

Negro Unrest

ANOTHER great class that is demanding more than fair words from President Wilson is the negro race of America, which since the East St. Louis riot have been made to feel their helplessness. Negro leaders feel that a statement from the President at this time would have a corrective effect. President Wilson says that he "has the matter under consideration"—referring to the East St. Louis horror.

In these "days of democratic aspiration," as the New York *Post* calls it, with what might seem sarcasm, it is of the utmost importance that the rights of all citizens be safeguarded, even though they are only negroes, pacifists, socialists, and suffragists.

The *Post* points out that Mr. Wilson can "find a way (to protect negro citizens) if he but desires it" and that by failure to find this way popular faith in "democracy" is being shaken.

President Wilson's last comment on the negro situation was made last week when he received a deputation of colored ministers from New York and said he was "shocked" at the East St. Louis riots. A few weeks ago he was "shocked" at suffragists being railroaded to Occoquan, though his Administration has just sent six more women who dared to appeal for democracy to the Government workhouse.

A large group of citizens are beginning to demand that the President translate his "shocks" into action initiating legislation for real democracy for all the people of the United States.

Our Dependencies and Democracies

RESOLUTIONS have been sent to President Wilson by both Houses of the Porto Rican legislature demanding complete self-government, and stating "that the people of Porto Rico were ready to contribute with their blood, under the glorious flag of the United States, to the triumph of democracy throughout the world, and demand from the United States the completion of its work in Porto Rico by granting to our people their full right of self-government."

After the prohibition election in the island the women, under the leadership of Mrs. Andrew Froscher, urged woman suffrage, feeling that this is the most opportune time to ask the government to recognize women politically.

Will the United States allow even its own island dependencies to grant full democracy before it will accede to the urgent pleas of its women for enfranchisement?

A Letter to Hoover

FOOD ADMINISTRATOR HOOVER has just sent out another statement calling for the conservation of wheat by substituting one pound of other cereals per week. Mr. Hoover points out that foreigners "lack the knowledge" to practice these economies. At the same time he is asking help in all localities in forming "Speakers' Bureaus" to reach the masses.

In response to this appeal Miss Ada James, of Richland Center, Wisconsin, sent the following reply:

"You have asked me to send you the names of the best speakers in our State. The best speakers I know of are the men and women who have been speaking in the interest of democracy, and fortunately for America, they are still working and speaking in the interest of American democracy.

"I cannot think they are less patriotic than some others, because they are giving their time and strength to 'fight for the things we have always carried nearest our hearts, for democracy, for the right of those who submit to authority to have a voice in their own government.'

"When the administration is causing the arrest and imprisonment of some of our workers we feel that it becomes most imperative to secure democracy for America.

"We believe that the greatest service we can offer our country is a continuation of the fight for democracy, hoping that we shall soon be able to vote for men and women who will give us adequate food legislation."

Mr. Root Continues

IN his latest speech, Mr. Root, still inspired by what he has seen and heard in Russia, said:

"We bring back from Russia to you an acho of our own message:

"'Have faith; be stout of heart; be courageous and hopeful; thrust aside all trifling hesitancies; believe in your own power; do not doubt the democracy of America, that great movement of the human ages, passing on to eternity.'

"Do not doubt it for a moment, God in heaven has manifested His eternal judgment, so that the simplest may read that autocracy is doomed."

Autocracy in this country is doomed because there is still the spirit like that possessed by the Woman's Party alive in the country.

Soldiers for Democracy

MAJOR-GENERAL JOHN J. PERSHING, the American commander in France, has sent out a vigorous call to arms in this war for democracy. Just two years ago another valiant soldier fighting for democracy, called the women of the West to mobilize their strength and fight for the liberty of American women. Frances Warren Pershing, General Pershing's wife, spent her last days fighting with all her youthful vigor at the front in the first trench of the National Woman's Party, The Woman Voters' Convention at San Francisco. "On to Washington" was the cry of that convention and the National Woman's Party has kept the faith. Spurred on by the memory of such women as Mrs. Pershing the fight is, trench by trench, being won for the women of this country. Women of Mrs. Pershing's practical idealism refuse to be turned aside by that sounding phrase "world democracy" from the battle American women have been fighting for more than half a century.

The Suffragist

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THE SUSAN B. ANTHONY AMENDMENT

Proposing an amendment to the Constitution of the United States extending the right of suffrage to women.

Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled (two-thirds of each House concurring therein), That the following article be proposed to the legislatures of the several States as an amendment to the Constitution of the United States, which, when ratified by three-fourths of the said legislatures, shall be valid as part of said Constitution, namely:

"ARTICLE—SEC. 1. The right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any State on account of sex.

"SEC. 2. Congress shall have power, by appropriate legislation, to enforce the provisions of this article."

THE AMENDMENT IN THE SIXTY-FIFTH CONGRESS

Introduced

In the Senate, on April 4, 1917, by Senators Thompson, Owen, Jones and Shafroth.

In the House, on April 2, 1917, by Representatives Raker, Rankin, Mondell, Keating and Hayden.

Referred

In the Senate, to the Committee on Woman Suffrage.

In the House, to the Judiciary Committee.

Present Status

In the Senate

Before the Committee on Woman Suffrage.

In the House

Before the Judiciary Committee.

HISTORY OF THE AMENDMENT

Drafted

In its present form, by Susan B. Anthony in 1875.

First Introduced

January 10, 1878, by Hon. A. A. Sargent, in the Senate.

Reported from Committee

In the Senate

1878, Adverse majority.
1879, Favorable minority.
1882, Favorable majority, adverse minority.
1884, Favorable majority, adverse minority.
1886, Favorable majority.
1890, Favorable majority.
1892, Favorable majority, adverse minority.
1896, Adverse majority.
1913, Favorable majority.
1914, Favorable majority.
1916, Favorable majority.

In the House

1883, Favorable majority.
1884, Adverse majority, favorable minority.
1886, Favorable minority.
1890, Favorable majority.
1894, Adverse majority.
1914, Without recommendation.
1916, Without recommendation.

Voted Upon

In the Senate

January 25, 1887. Yeas 16, nays 34. Absent 26 (of whom 4 were announced as for and 2 against).

March 19, 1914. Yeas 35, nays 34, failing by 11 of the necessary two-thirds vote.

In the House

January 12, 1915. Yeas 174, nays 204, failing by 78 of the necessary two-thirds vote.

Sentence First: Law Afterwards

SENATOR MYERS, of Montana, introduced into the Senate last week a resolution making it illegal to "picket" the White House.

The extraordinary point of the bill is that it frankly attempts to make illegal the act for which women have been repeatedly sentenced to jail. Everybody assumes that the women arrested while carrying suffrage banners before the White House were arrested for picketing. Senator Myers discusses this offense, declaring it infamous, outrageous, scandalous, and "almost treasonable." Newspapers carry the headlines, "Suffrage Pickets Arrested," "Pickets Sentenced to Sixty Days." Now, after this extended history of arrest and imprisonment, it is proposed that these infamous acts, for which women are at this moment serving sentences in jail, be made unlawful.

Only for the few moments when the women are actually standing in the dock is it admitted that picketing is no offense whatever. The charge made against them is "obstructing traffic;" the evidence is that of a few policemen who testify that they ask a half dozen women, quietly holding an inoffensive banner close against the White House gates, to "move on;" and that they refuse to do so.

At the last trial all evidence brought by the women to prove their justifiable purpose in standing where they were, the reasons why they thought this action within their constitutional rights, the political necessity for it, the quiet inscriptions on their banners—for they carried nothing more than the mottoes, "How long must women wait for liberty?" and "England and Russia are enfranchising women in war time"—all this mass of evidence was summarily ruled out of order by the judge; so was the evidence proving that the police made no attempt to clear away the crowd which stood near the pickets; that the arrests were announced in restaurants at lunch time as due to take place at four o'clock; that in the morning the police laughingly told the by-standers to "come back at four;" that the whole crowd was gathered by the police at a pre-arranged time to form a pretext for arrest. "It is of no concern to this bench what the police did or did not do," the judge declared. "The only question is what you did."

So six women, all but one arrested for the first time, and on the trivial charge of not "moving on," were sentenced to thirty days in the workhouse, the judge saying as he left the court room, "I'll soon settle this trouble."

The trouble the judge expects to settle is obviously the trouble given the President by women who ceaselessly petition him for enfranchisement.

Quite clearly the women are tried on one charge and sentenced on another.

Poor Senator Myers does not think all this outrageous. He does not think it infamous that justice should be prostituted by order of the Chief Executive in order that he might continue to deny the women of the nation liberty. It is the rude manner of the people asking for liberty that worries him.

We are going to have to fight in this country against the dullness of our own imagination, which keeps us inert in the face of customary injustice. We are getting used to infractions of right by government appointees in the name of "patriotism." But we still have left a clear flame of indignation against the sordid and contemptible police court methods which are the weapon of the President of the United States in his fight against the political interests of women.

A Congressional Investigation of the Lawless Attack on the Suffrage Picket Demanded

A CONGRESSIONAL investigation that is likely to reach behind the Capital police to the Administration hands that pull the strings is about to engage the attention of Congress. Representative John Baer, of North Dakota, the youngest and latest representative to Congress, himself witnessed some of the disgraceful scenes in the neighborhood of the White House in which the Capital police, acting on orders, allowed crowds of sailors and roughs to attack the undefended suffragists of the National Woman's Party and destroy their property, and demanded an investigation by Congress as a result.

The Baer resolution demanding inquiry into the unlawful attacks of women on the part of both the crowd and the pliable police department of the National Capital is likely to make suffrage history. The Baer resolution was introduced August 17. The text follows:

WHEREAS, In the city of Washington, D. C., about 350 feet from the White House premises is a building known as the Cameron House, in which is located headquarters and main offices of a woman's organization, at which is continually congregated women of character, courage and intelligence, who come from various sections of the United States, and

WHEREAS, On three successive days, to-wit: the 14th, 15th and 16th days of August, 1917, on said days immediately following the closing of the day's work by the clerks and employes in the Executive Departments, hundreds of these clerks and employes, acting with sailors then and now in the service of the United States navy and in uniform at the time; and soldiers then and now in the service of the United States army, also in their uniforms at the time—all these clerks, employes, sailors and soldiers, and others, formed themselves into mobs and did deliberately, unlawfully and violently damage the said headquarters and offices of the said woman's organization by pelting rotten eggs through the doors and windows, shooting a bullet from a revolver through a window, and otherwise damaging said Cameron House, and also violently and unlawfully did strike, choke, drag and generally mistreat and injure and abuse the said women when they came defenseless upon the streets adjoining as well as when they were in the said building; and

The Government versus the Woman's Party

SINCE the Administration's active attempt to crush the fight for the enfranchisement of American women began on June 20, 1917, sixty-four American women have been arrested. Thirty-nine sentences of imprisonment have been imposed. "Anything to get rid of the picket except the passage of suffrage" seems to be the Administration motto. The Government policy has changed from day to day. On one day the Capital police have encouraged mobs to set upon the suffrage pickets; the following day they themselves have led the attack.

On August 14 and 15 the District police, admittedly acting on orders, allowed sailors, soldiers, government clerks and hoodlums of all ages to attack the pickets and injure their property.

On August 16, again admittedly acting on orders, the District police themselves attacked the pickets and confiscated their property.

On August 17, the police head of Washington himself admitted the day's orders were to arrest suffrage pickets.

The losses and casualties of one week's Administration attack on the suffrage pickets is as follows:

AUGUST 14—Twenty-two lettered banners and fourteen tri-color flags destroyed by mob led by sailors, government clerks and roughs. Large American flag and large Woman's Party flag, flying at headquarters, torn down by sailors. Eggs and tomatoes thrown at headquarters. Shot fired through upper window. Sailors, on porch of headquarters, strike Miss Virginia Arnold, Miss Lucy Burns, Miss Georgiana Sturges, trying to protect their property. Three police officers watch the attack with no offer of help.

AUGUST 15—One lettered banner and fifty flags destroyed by mob led by sailors. Miss Alice Paul knocked down three times by sailor in uniform; dragged the width of the White House sidewalk in attempt to tear off her suffrage sash. Miss Katherine Morey knocked down by sailor who stole her flag. Miss Elizabeth Stuyvesant struck and waist torn by soldier in uniform. Miss Maude Jamison struck and dragged on sidewalk. Miss Beulah Amidon struck down by sailor and banner stolen. William Bayard Hale struck by missiles in defending Miss Morey. Five officers at west gate of White House after five o'clock.

AUGUST 16—Twenty-five lettered banners and one hundred and twenty-three flags destroyed by mobs and by police. Fifty police in the afternoon attack women; Miss Virginia Arnold and Miss Elizabeth Stuyvesant, hands bruised and arms twisted. Lucy Burns bruised by attack of five police officers. Natalie Gray bruised by attack of six police officers, a police woman and plain clothes man. Two civilians who tried to rescue women arrested.

AUGUST 17—Six women arrested for carrying three lettered banners and two flags. Forty police officers on duty who made no attempt to clear sidewalks. Women arrested: Miss Lavinia Dock, of Fayettesville, Pennsylvania; Mrs. William Upton Watson and Miss Lucy Ewing, of Chicago; Miss Edna Dixon, of Washington, D. C.; Miss Catherine Flanagan, of Hartford, Connecticut, and Miss Natalie Gray, of Colorado Springs, Colorado.

AUGUST 18—Six women sentenced to thirty days in Occoquan government workhouse, with the alternative of a ten-dollar fine, which they refused to pay, for *"unlawful assembly or obstructing traffic."* No other arrests or sentences in connection with "riots." Value of flags and other property of suffragists destroyed in four days, $1,440.

WHEREAS, The organized police of the city of Washington, District of Columbia, made no attempt to properly safeguard the property and the persons of the said defenseless women, but, on the contrary, said police even seemed to encourage the lawless acts of the mob; and

WHEREAS, Such lawlessness is in the Capital of the United States and within a few hundred feet of the Executive Mansion and offices of the President of the United States; and

WHEREAS, These attacks upon defenseless women are not only an outrage and crime in themselves, that prove the perpetrators and those lending aid to the same to be cowards, but in addition, create through the world contempt for the United States and set a vicious example to the people throughout the United States and the world at large, of lawlessness and violence; and encourage designing cowards and manipulators everywhere to form mobs to molest the innocent and defenseless under any pretext whatever; and

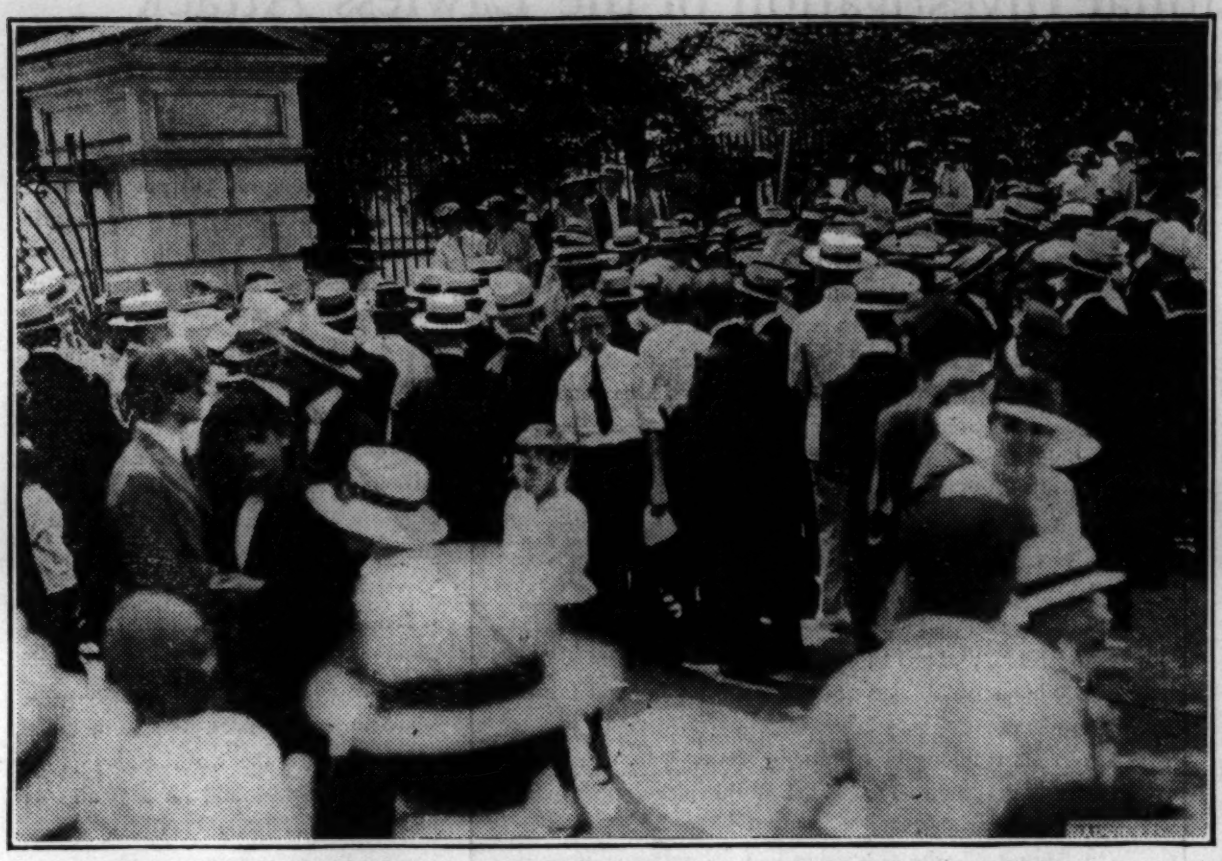
WHEREAS, There seems to be no activity or any attempt on the part of anyone in authority in the city of Washington, District of Columbia, nor by the government officials to apprehend, arrest or punish those perpetrating the violence, on account of which the same may occur indefinitely unless Congress acts in the premises; and

WHEREAS, The legal status upon the premises stated would excuse the occupants of the Cameron House if they were so disposed in firing upon the mobs aforesaid, and thus create a state of greater violence and outlawry, to further injure the prestige and good name of the United States for maintaining law and order and the institutions of democracy; therefore be it

Resolved, That the Speaker appoint a committee of seven members to investigate into all the facts relating to the violence and unlawful acts aforesaid, and make the earliest possible report upon the conditions, with the purpose in view of purging the army and navy of the United States and other official departments, of all lawless men who bring disgrace upon the American flag by participating in mob violence; and also to inquire regarding the conduct of all government employes and the police of the city of Washington, District of Columbia, with a view to maintaining law and order.

The Ad
Versus the

"The Government orders our Ban st



Showing Composition of Crowd at East Gate of White House Where Small Boys, Government Clerks, and Sailors Waited for the Announced Arrests

Arrest of Miss Catherine Flanagan and M
inscribed, *"How Long Must Wom it*
Encouraged by P

"How Long Must Women Wait for Liberty?"

—First Picket Banner Arrested

THE Government of the United States, using all of its powerful suppressive machinery, is behind the attempt to crush the agitation of the National Woman's Party for federal suffrage as a war measure: This is the outstanding fact that the shameful record of the past week establishes beyond any reasonable doubt.

The police department of the National Capital, with orders coming through its responsible head, directly in touch with the Administration, during the week has resorted to one device after another to strangle insistent petitions of women for federal suffrage as a war measure. The police for several days deliberately encouraged the attacks of hoodlums, led by men and boys in the uniform of the army and navy of the United States. When women still stood their ground with their suffrage banners in the face of these cowardly attacks, the police themselves attacked and arrested the women, declaring banners illegal which had not been so declared in any court of law.

These are the facts in brief which prove the culpability of the Administration in its futile attempt to repress suffrage agitation on the one hand while demanding the war co-operation of women on the other.

On August 15, the day following the attack on national headquarters by an unpoliced mob led by sailors who fired a shot through a window, struck down women and stole property, the police were given orders to continue their policy of non-interference with crowds attacking suffragists. Several police officers admitted this fact to suffragists and declared they were ashamed of the fact.

The suffrage pickets as usual went on duty last Wednesday, at twelve o'clock, and were without police protection until five o'clock in the evening, when five police officers at each gate of the White House, as if by magic, cleared a wide aisle in front of each gate, in anticipation of the President's arrival and finally drove the whole mob of clerks, hoodlums, soldiers and sailors across the street. This quick work on the part of the police was in vain; the President left by a rear gate.

In the meantime, during the early afternoon, sailors, small boys and hoodlums, given the tacit permission of the police who obligingly left the scene, attacked the women standing all afternoon at either gate, at their pleasure. During this time fifty tri-colored bunting flags, valued at six dollars each, and one lettered flag which bore the "Kaiser Wilson" slogan which the police pretend incensed the crowd, were destroyed or stolen. Many of the girls and women who stood at the gates were unusually frail in physique. They were repeatedly knocked down by sailors of the United States navy.

Miss Alice Paul, national chairman of the Woman's Party, was three times struck down, one sailor dragging her the width of the White House sidewalk in an attempt to tear off her suffrage sash as a trophy. Making no resistance, Miss Paul was seriously bruised in this encounter. Miss Beulah Amidon was struck down by a sailor and her flag stolen; Miss Elizabeth Stuyvesant, of New York, was struck and her waist torn by a soldier who destroyed her flag.

Miss Katherine Morey was standing at the west gate with a banner which bore the legend: "Mr. President, do your bit for American democracy before you force millions of American boys to give up their lives for the democracy of the world."

William Bayard Hale, Hearst correspondent, in entering the White House for an interview with the President, read the banner and voiced his approval.

He afterward repeated the advice of Dr. Cary Grayson as he left the White House: "You had better go out the side entrance. Those damned women are in front." Hale came out the same entrance in spite of this advice, just in time to ward off the attack of a sailor on Miss Morey. Her banner was already gone. The unpoliced crowd fell upon her protector with missiles and called him a "German spy."

On Thursday, August 16, the day following, the Administration campaign underwent a marked change. A detachment of fifty police were sent from headquarters. Instead of watching suffragists attacked they attacked them themselves. Twenty-five lettered banners explaining in words of one syllable just why President Wilson to American women was, in fact, a Kaiser, were

dnistration
e oman's Party

Ban stroyed because they tell the truth."
—Third Picket Banner Arrested

d Miam Upton Watson at East Gate with Banner
Wonit for Liberty?" Sailors and Roughs
by Pown in Background

Arrest of Miss Edna Dixon and Miss Lavinia Dock at West Gate, with Banner inscribed, *England and Russia Are Enfranchising Women in War Time."* This Gate was Deserted Until Police Drew Crowd from Lower Gate.

"England and Russia Are Enfranchising Women in War Time"

—Second Picket Banner Arrested

destroyed by the police. When women protested that their banner was not unlawful, the police made, in effect, the retort of one officer, "I'm no lawyer. I'm under orders."

The police fell upon these undefended young women stanchly defending their own property with as much cruelty as the mobs they had before encouraged. Miss Virginia Arnold, of South Carolina, was attacked by three police officers. Because she would not give up her banner her arms were twisted and her hands bruised. Unable to use either hand, she is now in a doctor's care. Miss Elizabeth Stuyvesant, Miss Lucy Burns and Miss Natalie Gray were all severely handled by the police.

In the evening when the crowd was most dense the police relaxed their vigilance, and calmly watched the crowd attack women and destroy their banners. One young woman who defended her property against her assailant an officer threatened to arrest. To another, struggling with a man twice her size for the possession of her flag, the officer ordered, "Here, give that up!"

On this memorable day for suffragists, one hundred and forty-eight flags were destroyed by the police and their able assistants. Two young women, Miss Ruth Crocker and Miss Elizabeth Smith, were knocked down on Madison Place, carrying furled flags, and when angry men tried to protect the two young girls from their assailants, the men protecting the suffragists, not their assailants, were arrested by the complacent officers watching the scene.

"Orders" were once more changed. On Friday, August 17, Major Pullman, police head of Washington, called upon Miss Alice Paul, and warned her that young women carrying flags would be arrested. The pickets had already been warned. Captain Sullivan, stepping up to a picket had said, "The law today is to move on!" Women were not warned that they would be arrested if they "obstructed the free passage of the sidewalk." This is a technical excuse used only in the court room; they were warned *they would be arrested if they picketed,* though authority, from the President down, has admitted picketing lawful.

All afternoon the silent sentinels stood at their posts with the purple, white and gold tri-colors brave in the sunshine, flanked by the worn standards that have become the battle flags of suffrage. "England and Russia are enfranchising women in war time," announced one. "How long must women wait for liberty?" asked another. A third read: "The government orders our banners destroyed because they tell the truth."

How could young women holding these accusing flags be arrested? The very crowd asked the question. They drew off across the street and watched the brave little group change from hour to hour. The police also drew off to give the crowd a chance to again advance unmolested. The police even set an hour for the arrests and advertised it. In the hearing of the pickets, one officer shouted to civilian friends, "Come back at four o'clock!"

Four o'clock is the hour the Government clerks swarm homeward. By waiting until four o'clock clever Major Pullman was able to collect a respectable crowd to lend color to the police court fiction that pickets were again "unlawfully assembling" and "blocking traffic."

The women arrested with flags shortly after that hour were Miss Lavinia Dock, of Pennsylvania, of the National Council of Nurses, for many years prominent in the New York Nurses' Settlement, and an assistant of Clara Barton in organizing the Red Cross during the Spanish war; Miss Edna Dixon, of Washington, D. C., a young public school teacher; Miss Natalie Gray, of Colorado, who came from Colorado Springs for the express purpose of picketing for suffrage; Mrs. William Upton Watson, of Chicago; Miss Catherine Flanagan, of Hartford, Connecticut, and Miss Lucy Ewing, of Chicago, daughter of Adlai Ewing, the prominent Illinois Democrat.

These young women at a police court trial, which lasted just forty minutes, and at which one police officer testified that they were all "obstructing traffic," were sentenced by Police Magistrate Pugh to serve thirty days in the government workhouse because they refused to pay the ten-dollar fine which would have admitted their guilt. None of the assailants of suffragists were either imprisoned or punished, though during the week of rapidly changing Administration police policies property of suffragists amounting, on the most conservative estimate, to $1,140 was destroyed.

An Open Letter to Major Pullman

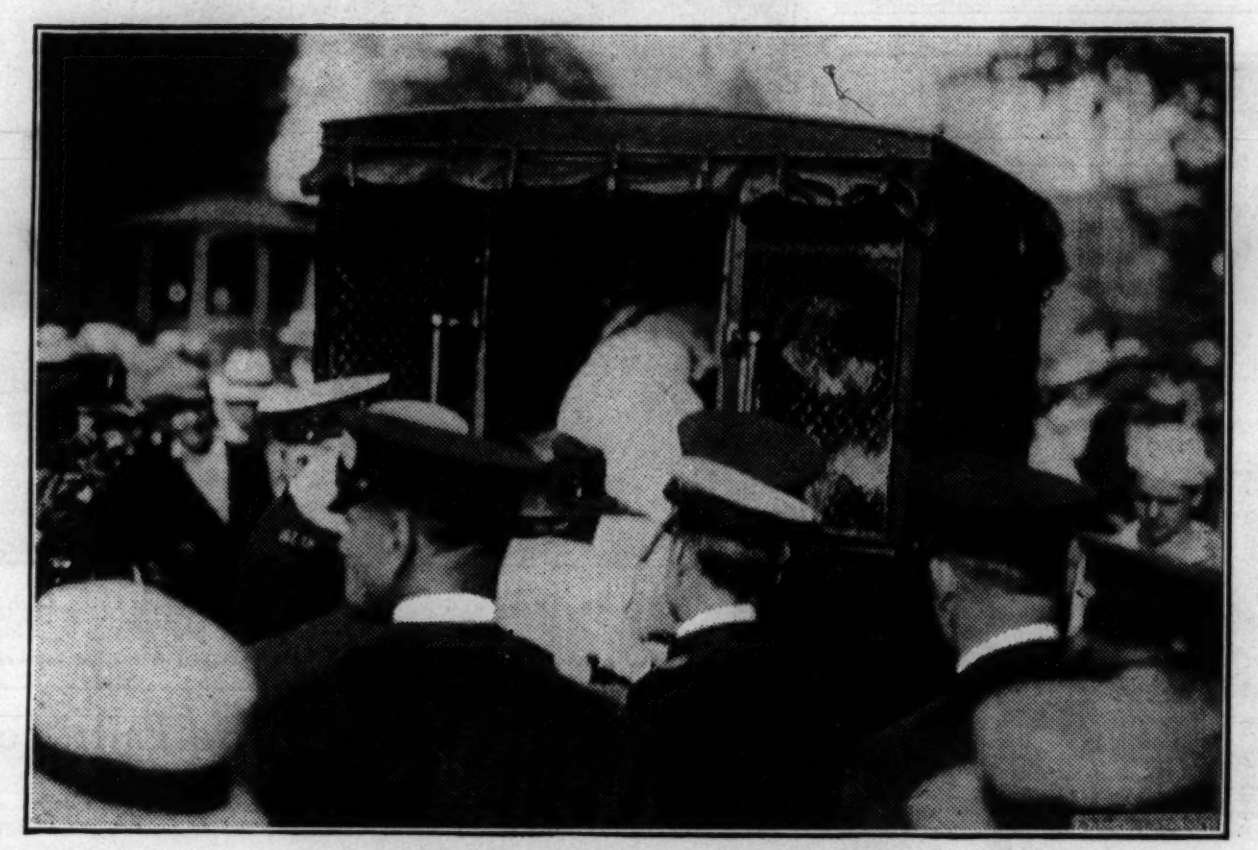
Chief of Police of Washington, D. C.

By Gilson Gardner

MR. RAYMOND PULLMAN,
Chief of Police,
Washington, D. C.

MY DEAR PULLMAN: I am writing as an old friend to urge you to get right in this matter of arresting the suffrage pickets. Of course the only way for you to get right is to resign. It has apparently become impossible for you to stay in office and do your duty. The alternative is obvious.

You must see, Pullman, that you cannot be right in what you have done in this matter. You have given the pickets adequate protection; you have arrested them and had them sent to jail and the workhouse; you have permitted the crowd to mob them, and then you have had your officers do much the same thing by forcibly taking their banners from them. In some of these actions you must have been wrong. If it was right to give them protection and let them stand at the White House for five months, both before and after the war, it was not right to do what you did later.



Suffragists Being Hurried into the Police Patrol

You say it was not right and that you were "lenient" when you gave them protection. You cannot mean that. The rightness or wrongness must be a matter of law, not of personal discretion, and for you to attempt to substitute your discretion is to set up a little autocracy in place of the settled laws of the land. That would justify a charge of "Kaiserism" right here in our Capital city.

The truth is, Pullman, you were right when you gave these women protection. That is what the police are for. When there are riots they are supposed to quell them, not by quelling the "proximate cause," but by quelling the rioters.

I know your police officers now quite well and I find that they are most happy when they are permitted to do their duty. They did not like that dirty business of permitting a lot of sailors and street riffraff to rough the girls. All that went against the grain, but when you let them protect the pickets, as you did March third, when a thousand women marched around and around the White House, the officers were as contented as they were efficient.

Washington has a good police force and there has never been a minute when they could not have scattered any group gathered at the White House gates and given perfect protection to the women standing there.

You know why they did not do their duty.

It is not my opinion alone when I say that the women were entitled to police protection, not arrest. President Wilson has stated repeatedly that these women were entirely within their legal and constitutional rights, and that they should not have been molested. Three reputable men, two of them holding office in this Administration, have told me what the President said, and I have no reason to doubt their word. If the President has changed his mind he has not changed the law or the Constitution, and what he said three weeks ago is just as true today.

In excusing what you have done, you say that the women have carried banners with "offensive" inscriptions on them. You refer to the fact that they have addressed the President as "Kaiser Wilson." As a matter of fact, not an arrest you have made—and the arrests now number more than sixty—has been for carrying one of those "offensive" banners. The women were carrying merely the suffrage colors or quotations from President Wilson's writings.

But, suppose the banners were offensive. Who made you censor of banners? The law gives you no such power. Even when you go through the farce of a police court trial the charge is "obstructing traffic;" which shows conclusively that you are not willing to go into court on the real issue.

No. As chief of police you have no more right to complain of the sentiments on a banner than you have of the sentiments in an editorial in the Washington *Post*, and you have no more right to arrest the banner-bearer than you have to arrest the owner of the Washington *Post*. So long as the law against obscenity and profanity is observed, you have no business with the words on the banners. Congress refused to pass a press censorship law. There are certain lingering traditions to the effect that a people's liberties are closely bound up with the right to talk things out and those who are enlightened know that the only proper answer to words is words. When force is opposed to words there is ground for the charge of "Kaiserism." Even when the power of the postmaster over the mails is used to suppress the radical press the offense is the same and deserves the same epithet.

There was just one thing for you to have done, Pullman, and that was to give full and adequate protection to these women, no matter what banners they carried or what ideas their banners expressed. If there is any law that can be invoked against the wording of the banners it was the business of others in the government to start the legal machinery which would abate them. It was not lawful to abate them by mob violence, or by arrests. And if those in authority over you were not willing that you thus do your duty, it was up to you to resign.

(Concluded on page 10)

Comments of the Press

HOW GRATEFUL RUSSIA MUST FEEL TO US. WE TAUGHT THEM ALL THEY KNOW ABOUT LIBERTY THE US IS THE CRADLE OF LIBERTY!
SURE, MIKE
HEN DUBB WHITE COLLAR SLACK
THE IDEA OF SUCH A THING! WE GOTTA STOP THAT STUFF! THESE SUFFRAGISTS CAN'T PUT THAT BANNER OVER ON US
RIGHT AT THE WHITE HOUSE TOO!
OH, IF THE PRESIDENT COULD SEE WHAT WE ARE DOING!
YOUR PLACE IS IN THE HOME!
WHITE HOUSE
IN RUSSIA WOMEN VOTE. IN THE U.S. THEY DO NOT.
I'M A HENRY DUBB! THESE SUFFS HAVE GOTTA BE STOPPED
WE'LL DO THE VOTING. LET THE WOMEN LOOK AFTER THE MEALS

Ryan Walker in The New York Call

Strong for Liberty

More than the President Can Stand

THE women win so far as President Wilson is concerned. So much we get from Washington in the news of the day. The sixty days' sentence imposed on leading women, mostly from high-up democratic families, and who were engaged in a perfectly legal exercise of their rights of protests, is more than President Wilson was ready to stand.

Meantime from all parts of the country came protests against the severity of the sentence. Even Mrs. Catt, who thinks the Woman's Party picketing was "unwise and unnecessary," didn't like the heavy sentence. And the New York suffragists who have thought their campaign was interfered with by the White House picketing have to admire the pluck of the women, who have all willingly gone to jail in order to prove their devotion to their cause. The older branch of the suffrage body saw in the new situation created by the war a chance to slip a new line of campaign in and to prove that women in the war work ahead were to be of immense importance. The lesser fraction of the suffrage force, but admittedly composed of brilliant and highly valuable women, chose picketing. As the right of picketing has been established by about every court going, it took the attack of an outsider upon them to make their situation dramatic. They have made the most of it with the result that a judge has gone so far as to declare an excessive sentence for an action that could not be called irregular and President Wilson has followed with a pardon.

If these women have forced President Wilson to come out for the passage of the Susan B. Anthony amendment as a war measure, they have not been radical in vain, for even if the amendment were not passed, President Wilson's declaration for it as a war measure would be an immense forward step.

And as *The Transcript* said, the light is bound to dawn sometime.—*Holyoke (Mass.) Transcript, July 19, 1917.*

Call Out Army as Well as Navy!

THE WORLD renews its suggestion that Secretary Baker detail a sufficient number of troops to take charge of the suffragist situation at the White House and keep the streets clear of all crowds and agitators, regardless of sex.

If the suffragists and their antagonists must riot, there are other places in Washington in which to carry on their disorderly activities.

The suffragist demonstrations around the White House gates whenever the President leaves or enters the grounds should not be permitted in any circumstances, and in no other capital would such demonstrations be tolerated.

The United States is at war. The police and courts of Washington seem powerless to maintain order around the White House, but American soldiers can do it, and it is infinitely more important that they should be used to police the President than that they should be guarding every casual railroad bridge and armory.—*New York World, August 7, 1917.*

More Heroism at Washington

GOVERNMENT clerks, re-enforced now by the rougher element of soldiers and sailors, continue to run things in the American Capital. The police smile while these little mobs of patriots dash among the groups of parading suffragists and destroy the wicked silken banners. A mob of this kind stormed suffrage headquarters, much as soldiers and sailors raided Socialist quarters in Boston, and pelted the premises with eggs.

All of which, occurring in the nation's Capital, during a session of intense democratic statesmanship, is wonderful to behold.

But for the ponderous inefficiency of the amateurs in Mr. Wilson's war administration, our soldiers and sailors might long ago have had a chance at a more gamey foe than the suffrage brigade. As it is, however, the fighting spirit must have its outlet, and no doubt it gains some strength and loyalty in attacking these women who so outrageously seek to remind President Wilson of his splendid promises of democracy.

It is good to know that Secretary Daniels has posted notices forbidding sailors to engage in street fights. Why not a similar order to the swarm of belligerent little department clerks?—*Boston Journal, August 16, 1917.*

Presidential Ruthlessness

THERE is an echo of the President's phrase about the "firm hand of stern repression" in the arrest, conviction and jailing of the six suffragists; a touch of ruthlessness in their incarceration at Occoquan along with women of the street, pickpockets and other flotsam and jetsam. Still, the suffragists are not looking for sympathy, and it need not be wasted upon them.

The police have arrived at a policy, although no one knows whether it will be sufficiently stable and consistent to last out the week; the women have chosen their course, preferring jail to a tacit confession of guilt by paying the nominal fine imposed upon them; Washington is grateful that the disgraceful period of rioting and mob violence in front of the White House is at an end, and another crisis in the militant crusade to bring the Susan B. Anthony amendment before Congress has been reached.

What is the next step? No one knows. Picketing doubtless will continue, or an effort will be made to continue it; and militancy—if the police continue the arrests, instead of giving the women protection—will pass into a new phase. The suffragists, as well as the public at large, are thankful that the police department has finally determined to arrest the pickets, instead of allowing them to be mobbed by hoodlums.

President Wilson will not be asked to pardon the jailed suffragists this time. It is doubtful if he would do so in any event. The public eye will be on Occoquan for the next few weeks, to find out how these women bear up under the Spartan treatment that is in store for them. If they have deliberately sought martyrdom, as some critics have been unkind enough to suggest, they have it now. And if their campaign, in the opinion of perhaps the great majority of the public, has been misguided, admiration for their pluck will not be withheld.—*Washington (D. C.) Herald, August 19, 1917.*

Comments of the Press

Only One Solution

MRS. O. H. P. BELMONT today telegraphed this message to the National Woman's Party headquarters:

"I have just received a telegram stating the following facts:

"A mob of sailors, clerks and hoodlums attacked the pickets yesterday and Tuesday. Our silent, dignified women were knocked down and injured. Forty-nine banners, which were private property, the display of which had not been suppressed by authority, were totally destroyed. Five thousand people blocked the streets. No attempt was made by the police to disperse the crowd. Miss Paul was dragged along the street by a sailor and injured. No police protection was given her or others of the Woman's Party.

"If it is unlawful for women of this party to do what they are doing, they should be suppressed. But, as their actions are constitutional, not to give them police protection is a violation of the law, evidently sanctioned by the Administration, since the President appoints the police chief.

"It is grievous to hear that sailors, wearing the uniform of our nation, supposed at this very moment to be preparing for the fight for democracy, find nothing better to do than to knock down women likewise seeking democracy.

"The only solution of these civil difficulties is in the passage of the federal amendment. The President can accomplish this when he desires. As the world looks to him to aid in securing peace throughout all lands, American women look to him to secure peace based on democracy for them at home. ALVA E. BELMONT."—*New York Call, August 16, 1917.*

An Open Letter to Major Pullman

(Concluded from page 8)

After all it would not be such a terrible thing, Pullman, for you to give up being chief of police, particularly when you are not permitted to be chief of police, but must yield your judgment to the District Commissioners who have yielded their judgment to the White House. Being chief of police under such circumstances can hardly be worth while. You are a young man and the world is full of places for young men with courage enough to save their self-respect at the expense of their jobs. You did that once—back in the Ballinger-Pinchot days. Why not now?

Come out and help make the fight which must soon be made to recover and protect the liberties which are being filched from us here at home. There is a real fight looming up for real democracy. You will not be alone. There are a lot of fine young men, vigorous and patriotic, in and out of the Administration who are preparing for this fight. Yours will not be the only resignation. But why not be among the first? Don't wait. Let them have your resignation now and let me be the first to welcome and congratulate you.

Sincerely, GILSON GARDNER.

A Mob of "Patriots"

EDITOR *The Washington Times.*

DEAR SIR:—Will you permit me to suggest that it is dangerous to withhold police protection from the suffrage pickets?

I do not mean that it is dangerous to the pickets. It is dangerous to the community and to the country. It is loosing the mob to retaliate on an annoyance. A mob is a dangerous thing. It makes it no less dangerous to call it a mob of "patriots." In a mob the human being reverts to the beast. That is why a dozen men or boys, ordinarily decent, will rush on a lone, undefended, and unresisting girl, drag her about and maul her, as I saw done yesterday. That is why a man will fire a pistol from the protection of a crowd and darkness through a window where women are looking out. That is why boys ordinarily decent, will insult women who might be their mothers with language for which criminals are arrested daily and sent to the workhouse.

Loosing the mob seems to me just as stupid and even more dangerous a way to deal with picketing as sending them to jail.

It is not necessary to go into the question of the rightness or otherwise of what the suffrage women are doing. Let us assume for argument that they are foolish and misguided. The President has said that they are within their legal rights. If that is so, they are entitled to police protection. In refusing them protection officials are no doubt carrying out the orders of their superiors. But even so, they are the persons that will be officially responsible, if a fatality takes place—and it is only a miracle that one of the women has not already been killed.

Again I ask is it not a dangerous piece of business?—*Gilson Gardner in Washington Times, August 17, 1917.*

Oh, No! He "Does Not Mind Pickets"

IN his open letter to members of Congress of both houses, Mr. J. A. H. Hopkins bares the attitude of mind borne by the Executive toward his uninvited White House neighbors. The President stated that he had never, at any time, objected to the pickets nor had they annoyed him.

As for the alleged violation of law, we asserted that the pickets broke no statute; that the onus of obstructing traffic rested with the rioters, certainly not with the sixteen silent suffragists in white.

The President told Mr. Hopkins that he "could not add to the war program unless he considered additional measures were necessary as war measures, and that if he did so it would be forcing legislation—which, however, he was justified in doing if an emergency existed."

It has been our contention that the emergency does exist; that with twenty millions of women disfranchised at a time when the country is vitally in need of their services, their abilities, their intuitive propensities to the right, is to place a handicap on their best endeavors and to that extent weaken the nation's defenses. If the President had accompanied his pardon with a statement urging that the real solution of the problem was in the hands of Congress much adverse senatorial criticism might have been averted and the joint amendment, long held up in committee room, reported out for consideration by Congress. Senator Cummins has succeeded in getting the resolution on the calendar. We hope he will press it to a vote.—*Richmond Evening Journal, August 13, 1917.*

The President and the Pickets

PRESIDENT WILSON'S treatment of the suffrage pickets indicates his profound understanding of the non-essentials of liberal government. The pardoning of the imprisoned women was (as the current phrase has it) the "gesture" of not only a humane but an enlightened ruler. No doubt it was in part motivated by the natural repugnance of a Southern gentleman to the idea of women of his own social class being cast into dungeons (however carefully swept and, as it were, garnished, beforehand). But, more important, it signified his recognition of the right of political malcontents to remind the executive of their wrongs—to parade, in the most literal sense, their grievances before him. It was probably in such a light that the situation was presented to him by Dudley Field Malone, collector of the port of New York, an appointee of President Wilson; and we have Mr. Malone to thank, along with the militant suffragists, for securing thus dramatically a ratification at Mr. Wilson's hands of one of the principles which we inherit from the Magna Charta. . . . . .

We understand that the President is being much sympathized with in official circles in Washington over the social embarrassments of the militant suffrage campaign. When a woman who is, incidentally, the wife of one of your political supporters, and who has dined with you the evening before, and whom you are pleased to pardon out of jail, not only confronts you unrepentantly next day on your afternoon ride with her challenging banner, but writes you a letter asking indignantly what you mean by pardoning her without stating your reasons! . . . —*The Masses, September, 1917.*

A Correction

THROUGH an oversight the New York *Tribune* was not credited with an article by Mrs. Harriot Stanton Blatch, used in THE SUFFRAGIST July 28, entitled "The Challenge to Governments." Mrs. Blatch wrote the article as a letter to *The Tribune.*

Financial Report

Treasurer: Miss Mary Gertrude Fendall
Assistant Treasurer: Miss Maud Jamison

Bank of Deposit: American Security and Trust Co. Washington, D. C.

Auditors: Marwick, Mitchell Peat & Company

CONTRIBUTIONS TOWARD $300,000 FUND FOR SECURING THE PASSAGE OF THE FEDERAL SUFFRAGE AMENDMENT

List of Contributions from August 11 Through August 20, 1917

Contributions made to National Headquarters:

Per Mrs. Kent's Committee:	
Elizabeth T. Kent	$ 285.00
Per Mrs. Ella Morton Dean:	
Mr. B. Russel Hertz	2.00
A Friend	1.00
Per Pennsylvania Branch:	
Mrs. H. F. Hall	10.00
Mrs. Alden H. Potter	25.00
Mrs. Lillah B. Gray	14.00
Miss Flora Spiedelberg	3.00
Miss Gillette Hayden	25.00
Miss Mary D. Carberry	5.00
Miss Lizabeth Wiley	1.00
Mrs. Eunice B. Armstrong	5.00
Mrs. H. O. Havemeyer	2,000.00
Miss Vivia S. Farlin	4.00
Mrs. Hazle Buck Ewing	50.00
Mrs. Agnes Chase	5.00
A Friend of the Pickets	10.00
Mrs. Agnes H. Morey	10.00
Mrs. Harriet T. Comstock	5.00
Miss Ida Bell	1.00
Miss Ada F. Gollner	1.00
Miss Carrie Politzer	1.00
Mrs. C. W. MacNaughton	1.00
Miss Emma E. Elliott	2.00
Misses Irene and Alice Lewisohn	500.00
Mrs. G. G. Scott	10.00
Miss Mary Verhoeff	5.00
Mrs. Charles P. Weaver	1.00
Mrs. L. C. Willis	1.00
Collections	4.82
Membership Fees	15.00
Total collected by National Headquarters	$ 3,002.82
Previously acknowledged in THE SUFFRAGIST	257,030.46
Total collected by National Headquarters through August 20, 1917	$260,033.28
Total collected by Branches through August 20, 1917	36,154.76
Grand Total	$296,188.04
DEDUCTION:	
Transferred from Branch Headquarters to National Headquarters	2,136.00
Grand Net Total	$294,052.04

Reverend Olympia Brown Protests

[From a speech delivered by Reverend Olympia Brown, pioneer suffragist and co-worker with Susan B. Anthony, before the executive board of the Milwaukee Suffrage Association.]

"THIS talk about hurting the cause is silly.

"When a cause is founded on the Declaration of Independence and the cause of democracy, I don't see any occasion for people to get nervous about the cause being hurt. If the cause is a good one, it isn't easy to hurt. I have not been worrying about the pickets hurting the suffrage cause.

"They are not criticising President Wilson. They are merely quoting him. Some of those who went to the workhouse are prominent women, and are more intelligent than the average woman. They know what they are doing. I believe those women are doing a noble duty for humanity. They are keeping suffrage before the minds of the people, and they are reminding those in high places of pledges that have been made.

"We believe that it is inconsistent to carry on a war in the interests of democracy abroad when we have no democracy at home. The suffragists want to get the country out of this illogical position for the sake of the country. Our principles should be heralded to all the world.

"During the Civil War we quit fighting for suffrage and turned all our attention to other forms of patriotic work and it has taken all this time to catch up. We were told that when the negro question was settled the enfranchisement of women would be attended to. We cannot afford to let the subject go by this time. If we should do that we would have to begin again after the war is over.

"The country needs women voters now more than ever before. We have put all these years of effort and a great deal of money into the cause, and it is high time we were realizing on our investment."—*Press Dispatch, August 7, 1917.*

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